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Research Memorandum 1995-4

vrije Universiteit *amsterdam*



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URBAN MIGRANT ABSORPTION

**Theories and Policies on the Absorption of Immigrants on the
Local Labour Market of Host Areas**

**Peter Nijkamp
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Free* University *Amsterdam
Department of Regional Economics

October 1994

URBAN MIGRANT ABSORPTION

THEORIES AND POLICIES ON THE ABSORPTION OF IMMIGRANTS ON THE LOCAL LABOUR MARKET OF HOST AREAS

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Free University Amsterdam

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses labour market **aspects** of new immigrants in host countries with a **specific** emphasis on the Netherlands. In **general**, it **can** be stated that in the Netherlands immigrant groups have not been absorbed **very well** in the labour market and that to some extent the **dual** labour market approach is applicable to the Dutch situation. Furthermore, future labour market developments in western Europe • and hence **also** in the Netherlands • are not **very** favourable, because the skill **profile** of the new immigrant groups corresponds in a **decreasing** way to the **needs** in western European labour **markets**. Various **policies** • especially in urban **areas** • have been developed to improve the labour market situation of immigrants. These **projects** are diverse in **nature** and aim at the improvement of **basic** skills, e.g. language and vocational training programs. The results of these programmes in terms of an improvement in labour market participation are **often** somewhat disappointing. Furthermore, a **systematic** evaluation of these programs is missing. Therefore, in this paper a **systematic** evaluation framework is presented which **incorporates** both quantitative and qualitative **evaluation** approaches. This **may** improve assessment procedures used and **will hopefully encourage** policy-makers to systematically evaluate labour market absorption programmes.

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1. Introduction

The socio-economic impact of foreign immigrants on the **economy** of the host country or region has been extensively studied, especially in the United States. Research on the effects of immigration shows - with more or less **evidence** - that to a large extent the overall long term effects of immigration on the host country are **often** not negative, but generally even **positive** (see for **instance** Borjas 1986; Chiswick 1986; Wright and Maxim 1993; Poot 1986; Greenwood, 1986; Simon 1994). **However**, it is important to note that - due to institutional differences - these results cannot directly be translated to **all** regions or cities in a host country. It is **clear** that empirical **evidence** on individual **markets** or **segments** is needed to test under which conditions these results **also** hold for regions in different socio-economic, demographic and geographical settings. Empirical **evidence** is **also** needed on the characteristics of individual immigrants in order to understand the **economic** absorption problems of immigrants in the **specific** local labour **markets** they **operate** in and the long run socio-economic **opportunities** of immigrants.

In this paper these issues **will** be investigated with a **specific** view on the Dutch labour market. First, the labour market situation of Dutch immigrants **will** be **discussed**. Then an **attempt** **will** be made to present some labour market segmentation diagrams on the Dutch labour market. Furthermore, future **scenarios** developed by the Dutch Central Planning Bureau, future trends of **economic** sectors and future labour market developments in urban **areas** **will** be put forward. The consequences of these developments for policy **making** **will** be **discussed** in the **second** part of this paper. Migrant absorption **policies** developed in other countries with similar migration developments **will also** be described, with a view on the **relevance** of **such** experiences for urban **areas** in the **Netherlands**. Therefore, the **importance** of these **policies** for Dutch cities **will** be **investigated** in order to improve the development and evaluation of practical migrant absorption **policies** in urban **areas** in the Netherlands.

2. The Labour Market Situation of Immigrants

The position of immigrants on the Dutch labour market has become relatively unfavourable in the past decade (see Table A1 and A2). This situation is even worse in urban **areas** (see Figure A1). The rise in unemployment of immigrants rose **much faster** than the unemployment of native Dutch and did not stop **when** unemployment **rates** of Dutch workers began to **fall** from 1983 onwards. The level and **nature** of jobs held by employed immigrants is generally significantly lower than that of Dutch workers (see Table A3). **Also** the **second** generation appears to lag far behind compared to their Dutch contemporaries, even compared to those Dutch **who** have a similar level of education (Penninx et al. 1993).

A number of reasons account for this backward position of immigrant groups on the labour market. **Penninx** et al. (1993) found that the reason for the

worsening of the position of immigrants **can** mainly be found in the **access** to the labour market. Secondly, the rise and high level of unemployment of immigrants **can also** partly be explained by the **reduction in the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs**. Thirdly, the **economic** stagnation has **struck** particularly deep in those enterprises which **formerly recruited migrant workers**. Finally, the **recruitment procedures** practised in recent years offer immigrants fewer chances. Beside the reasons for this poor assimilation described above, there **may** be an additional explanatory factor. Immigrant groups have always been treated as temporary workers and not as permanent settlers. Because of this, in the past little attention has been paid to language training, education and cultural adaptation programmes which made the absorption of immigrant **once** more difficult (see Table A4).

It is **also** important to **notice** that the selection criteria during the past fifteen years have **changed** considerably and the criteria for required educational level and technical skills have been raised in a labour market situation of too **many** applicants with too few jobs. Furthermore, the attitude of employers towards immigrants in general is an important factor in the chances for **immigrants** on the labour market and **may also** be an explanatory factor for the low participation **rates** of immigrant groups. This **will** be **discussed** in the next **section**: the segmented labour market concept.

In **general**, it **can** be stated that in the Netherlands immigrant groups have not been absorbed **well** in the Dutch labour market.

3. The Segmented Labour Market Concept

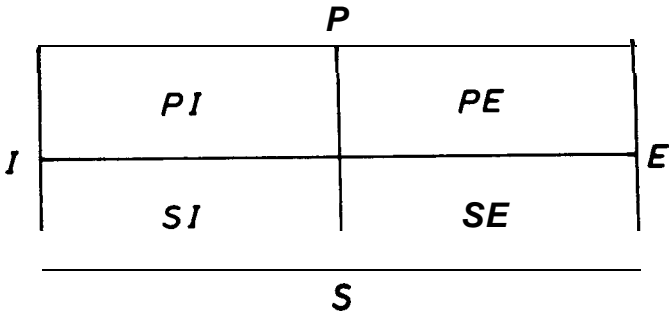
In this **section** the Dutch labour market **will** be investigated with a particular focus on its constituent **components** by using as a frame of reference the **well known segmentation model**, which is a generalized dual labour market model. The model is **chosen** because immigrant groups appear for the larger part to be **concentrated** in a few segments of the labour market (see Table A3). These segments are mainly classes for unskilled and low skilled jobs. **Furthermore**, new immigrant groups seem to be for the larger part unskilled or **semi-skilled** workers and **may** therefore **compete** in the same segments as previous immigrant groups. Therefore, it is important to find **out** whether there is a segmented or dual labour market and which **policies** are available within the concept of the segmented labour market concept. Hence, first a concise **description** of segmentation approaches **will** be given.

In the late sixties the concept of segmented labour **markets** was **introduced** to explain the labour market position of disadvantaged workers. The most important theory developed in this context is the **dual labour** market approach (Doeringer and Piore 1971, **Gordon** 1972). It subdivides the labour market into a primary and a secondary sector of employment opportunities. The jobs of the primary sector offer job security, are more stable and have better employment conditions and opportunities. The segmentation is **often caused** by firms with **internal** labour **markets**. These capital intensive firms **invest** in technological

development, resulting in **higher** labour productivity, which in turn requires more skills from the employees. **Internal markets can** be defined as a set of **institutional rules** and regulations which determine the movement of workers (i.e. transfers, promotions, demotions, **lay-offs** to the external market) among job classifications within administrative or organizational units **such** as enterprises (Fischer and Nijkamp 1987). The secondary sector is **quite** the opposite of the primary sector. There we find little job security, while jobs are generally low paid with an entry and exit possibility at **each** job level. Furthermore, the possibilities for the workers to improve their skills by on-the-job-training programmes are poor. **Many** small-scale labour-intensive **firms** operating in this sector **depend** largely on work sub-contracted by larger **companies**. Mobility from the secondary to the primary sector is restricted because of the feedback **mechanism** that **transforms** workers operating in bad jobs into ‘bad workers’, because of **lack** of primary jobs, and because of initial discrimination of certain groups of workers, i.e. young **persons, women** and **racial** and ethnic **minority** groups (Niesing 1993). Therefore, **policies** aimed at improving the skills of secondary workers tend to be not **very** successful. In **practice**, the phenomenon of a certain kind of **segmentation** on the labour market is generally **accepted**, but the above described duality is **often** a strong simplification of reality.

To offer a more realistic view on the **complexity** of the segmented labour market, **multisegment** labour market theories have been developed. For example, Mok (1975) proposed a multi-segmented labour market **structure** to explain structural unemployment of certain groups. He further subdivided the vertically segmented primary and secondary sector in a horizontally segmented **internal** and **external** market component (see Figure 1). The **difference** between the primary and secondary sector is in this framework **caused** by differences in jobs in terms of rewards, working conditions, job security, etc. The differentiation between the internal and **external** sector is made in order to distinguish between the **nature** of the **tasks** of the jobs and the relation to the firm-specific **internal** labour market. **External** market jobs represent skills which are transferable to different industries and are not specifically linked to a firm.

Figure 1. A Four-Segmented Labour Market Approach



Legend: I = internal P = primary
 E = external S = secondary

Source: Mok (1975), Loveridge and Mok (1979 p. 123)

In this approach immigrants with poor skills are located in the **secondary external** segment, which consists of jobs that offer no job security, primitive working conditions, low wages, etc. It is **clear** that various policy implications of the segmentation theory **can** be derived. They **will** now successively be discussed.

-A policy **directed** towards reducing the barriers to primary jobs, a strategy which might be accomplished by subsidising the employment of disadvantaged workers in order to **encourage** firms in the primary sector to employ disadvantaged **workers** or by anti-discrimination legislation, in the form of quotas (Fischer and Nijkamp 1987).

-Trainee posts of disadvantaged workers within the **internal** market of **companies**, so that employers **may** get acquainted with them (Niesing 1993).

-**Improving** the **nature** of the job in the secondary sector, e.g. by **means** of subsidising on-the-job training, encouraging the development of the influence of **trade-unions** (Joll et al. 1987).

These theoretical policy implications are **all** aimed at a **selective** policy towards **specific** segments of the labour market. The practical interpretation of these **policies** **will** be further described in **Section 6**, **where** the policy **implications** concerning the absorption of immigrants **will** be discussed.

4. Testing the Segmented Labour Market Theory for the Netherlands

Several attempts have in the past been made to test for the presence of duality in the Dutch labour market. These studies cover mainly periods before the large inflow of foreign migrants. Valkenburg and Vissers (1978) looked at worker and job characteristics, and workers' behaviour. These **aspects** appeared to differ somewhat per segment from the way predicted by the dual labour market approach, but were significantly evident to **confirm** the **existence** of **strict** duality. Brouwer et al. (1992) found that education and experience had larger **effects** on the wage level for workers in the primary than for those in the secondary sector. For both sectors **however**, these **effects** were significant. Niesing (1993) tested the dual labour market approach in order to investigate the situation for ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. He found that this approach is not really applicable to the Dutch situation of employment **guarantees**, a favourable **social** security system, and a high structural unemployment. He suggested therefore an amendment of the theory. In his test for duality on the labour market, Niesing used a **symmetric** approach to the labour market in which workers' behaviour and employers' behaviour are modelled separately. He found that employers differentiate less among the members of an ethnic group on the basis of personal characteristics than for the native Dutch, a situation which **indicates** that both the dual labour market approach and the **human** capital theory are to some extent applicable to the Dutch situation. As a **result** of differences between the ethnic minorities and the native Dutch in employers'

and workers' behaviour and personal characteristics, a **much** smaller part of ethnic workers would be hired. This small hiring probability is for approximately fifty percent due to employers' behaviour toward both groups. Furthermore, he found that better language **command** is an indication for employers of a better integration and therefore better of a adaptation, which improves the labour market opportunities for the ethnic minorities. In his view, the absorption of low skilled immigrants on the regional labour market should refer to several policy **aspects**. Next to training and skill improvement projects, **also** attention should be paid to lowering the 'absorption threshold' of employers. Involving employers in employment programmes and **skill** improvement projects **may** change employers' behaviour towards immigrants and improve the absorption **process**.

5. Future Developments and Scenarios

An important question is whether a significant future improvement of the position of foreign immigrants is plausible. Therefore, insight into future **economic** developments of modern western societies is essential for the **development** of **policies** concerning the absorption of immigrants. A better insight into the development of city-areas • **where** immigrant population is **often concentrated** -, the future development of relevant industries and other general **economic** developments **may** help in the development of **policies** towards the **absorption** of the immigrant population. By way of illustration we **will** now present here a scenario exercise on migration expectations and the absorption of immigrants in the Netherlands developed by the Dutch Central Planning Bureau (CPB) (1994).

The CPB designed three **scenarios** for the development of the **world-economy** between 1990 and 2015. Two of them, the Global Shift scenario and the Balanced Growth scenario have **also** been used to describe the **effects** of immigration.

In the **Global Shift** scenario, the development of the world **economy can** be characterized by the **dominance** of the free market perspective and the liberalization of international trade. This results in strong growing **economies** in the United States and **Asia** and • due to the troubles in the European unification **process** • a shortfalling development in Europe resulting in high unemployment **rates**.

In the **Balanced Growth** scenario, **also** Europe benefits from the free market perspective and the liberalization of international trade. In this case, the European unification leads to a decrease in unemployment and an increase in labour participation. The Global Shift scenario **also** foresees an increase in the migration pressure from Eastern Europe and **Africa** leading to a total Dutch population in this scenario which is about 357,000 **higher** than in the Balanced Growth scenario (CPB, 1994).

The expectations for future labour supply resulting from migration differ strongly per scenario. An important factor in this case is the motive for **migra-**

tion. Turkish and Moroccan **women** coming to the Netherlands in connection with family formation are expected to have a **very** low labour participation, while asylum seekers are not allowed to **participate** on the labour market. Therefore, to estimate the participation of immigrants, the present participation **rates** on the labour market and current school participation **rates** have been used.

In the Balanced Growth scenario the potential labour force of immigrants in 2015 **will** be 1.2 million **persons** which is 11 % of the total Dutch population. In this scenario the immigrant population **will** have the same participation **rate** as the total population. At present labour market participation **rates** of immigrants are **quite** low (see Table A1). The educational level of the immigrants **will** in this scenario be equal to the **average** of the total population for the second generation (the educational level of immigrants in the **Netherlands can** be found in Table A4). This **means** that in 2015 the educational **level** of immigrants **will** have strongly **risen**. Although still 46% of the total of the low educated labour population **will** consist of immigrants. The unemployment in this scenario **will** decrease to friction unemployment. Immigrants **will** for a smaller part make use of the **social** security system because, on **average**, immigrants are younger than the native population.

In the Global shift scenario the potential immigrant labour force **will** be 1.8 million **persons** which is 16% of the total population. In this scenario the participation of immigrants on the labour market will, due to existing cultural differences, remain low. In the Global Shift scenario the second and third **generation** of immigrants **will** not be able to make up arrears, which has **also** an important impact on educational levels. The unemployment **rates** in the period 1990 - 2015 **will** remain high. The **demand** for low and non-educated workers **will** only be 8% in 2015. Because a relatively large share of immigrants **competing** in this segment, the unemployment **rates** among these groups **will** remain high.

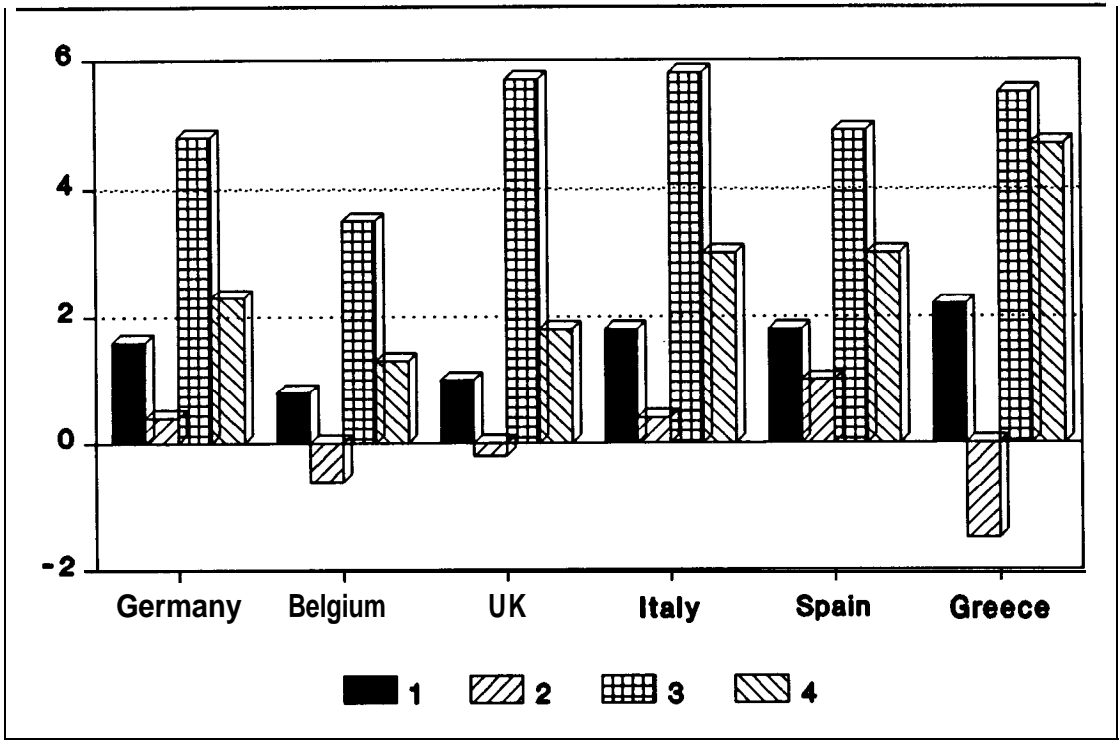
The absorption of immigrants on the labour market differ strongly in the two **scenarios**. Absorption **rates depend** for a large part on the **economic** development of a region and the individual characteristics of the immigrants willing to enter the labour market. Therefore, the **economic** development of sectors and knowledge of the individual and household characteristics of **immigrants may** for a large part **contribute** to **successful** absorption **policies**.

The general skill **profile** of the migrants from non-Community countries corresponds in a decreasing way to the **needs** of the Western European labour **market**¹ (Van der Knaap and Odé 1992). Van der Knaap and Odé further conclude that at the supply **side** of the labour market, the **demand** for **employment** is changing towards high-qualified service-related employment. This shift towards employment in services at the **cost** of traditional sectors like manufacturing and services **can also** be observed from Figure 2.

¹ Although this general conclusion **may** be true, Van der Knaap and Odé further note that there is no reliable data on the skill **profiles** of migrants in Europe.

The change in employment **can** be seen as an indication for the **trans-**formation towards a ‘**post-industrial**’ society (Van der Knaap 1987). Figure 3 shows the change in service sector employment for some EC-countries. **Especially** the sector of financing, insurance, **real** estate and business services takes a large proportion of the **average** growth between 1979 - 1989. Thus, due to the increasing requirements in job qualifications, the migrant labour force **will** increasingly be less able to meet the changing requirements in job qualifications (Van der Knaap and Odé 1992).

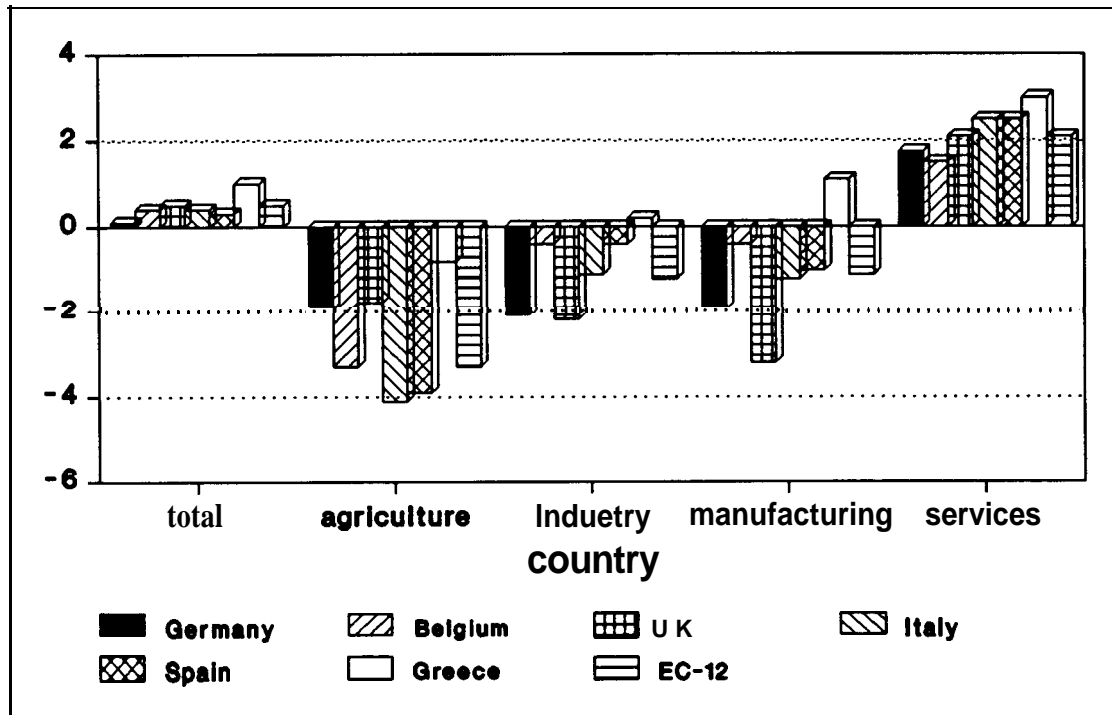
Figure 2 **Change in service sector employment for some northern and southern member states of the European Community; yearly average growth between 1979-1989.**



(1) =wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels, (2) = transport, storage and communication, (3) = financing, insurance, **real** estate and business services, and (4) = community, **social** and personal services.

Source: OECD (1991)

Figure 3 **Sectoral change in employment for some member states of the European Community, 1979-1989.**



Source: OECD (1991)

In this context it is interesting to **compare** the above European **developments** with the American findings on the development of large city-areas and **economic processes** within these cities. The future development of city-areas is especially important for migrant issues, since the relative concentration of the migrant population takes **place** in these **areas**². The contribution of Scott (1988) is interesting in that he observes a disappearing **centre** in the labour **markets** of **many** large cities. This is caused by the decline in traditional industrial **employment** and a strong suburbanization of employment. A strong concentration of head **offices** in **city-areas** is **also** noted. Furthermore, city-areas are especially **attractive** for workers with little or no skills because of the voluminous, unstable **demand** for labour. Scott refers to this as "the sweatshop **economy**".

Sassen (1991) **also** notes a shift in the labour market of global cities **where** the **demand** for unskilled labour increases and the traditional industrial sector declines. She describes the rise of a new **type** of city, the **global city** **where** business services and the financial sector are **concentrated**. The growth in financial services is mainly caused by the 'securization', which Sassen describes as "the transformation of various types of financial **assets** and debts into **market-**

² See for an extensive description on this subject, Cross (1989).

able **instruments**". The financial sector is of **crucial importance** for the **economic** development. In the global cities investigated by Sassen, an increased social and **economic** polarization **can** be seen **where** the informal labour market and the underground **economy** play an important role in fulfilling the **needs** of the **rich** in their increasing **demand** for personal services.

Castells (1989) analyses the interplay between new information **technologies** and city processes. He sees a transition of the industrial developments towards "the informational mode of development." The development of the information technology and the restructuring of capital and labour relations are the basis for the emergence of a dual city (Castells, 1989). The unemployment in **city-areas** is reduced, even with the presence of ethnic minorities and with an increasing number of immigrants. Sassen (1991) and Castells (1989) identified the following processes causing these **effects**:

1. "The decline of some industries and the increasing obsolescence of a segment of semi-skilled labour that is being expelled from the labour force.
2. The **dynamics** of two macro sectors, one in advanced services and the other in high-technology industries, both of which **also** include a **substantial** number of low-paid, low-skilled jobs, **such** as janitors, low-level **secretaries**, and assembly workers.
3. The growth of new, downgraded manufacturing activities, **many** of them informal, which employ some of the new immigrants, particularly **women**.
4. The expansion of informal and semi-formal service activities spurred on by the overall **economic** dynamism. These service activities, **many** of them in **consumer** services, **provide** numerous jobs for immigrants, ethnic minorities and **women**."

The **sectoral** shift towards the service sector found in the studies described above **can also** be observed in Europe (see Figure 2). **Also** the important role in American cities of the financing, insurance, **real** estate and business services is a trend found in Europe (see Figure 3). Priemus (1994) claims that the above mentioned developments have **also** some **relevance** for city-areas like the Randstad in Holland, because of the concentration of **internationally** oriented activities in the Randstad. Clearly, there are some differences in the above described trends, **such** as the spatial policy, the **economic structure** and the social and cultural tradition in Dutch cities.

In describing the developments in American city-areas an important duality was observed by **many** authors. From a migrant absorption point of view especially the development in the informal, parallel or underground market is interesting. A further description of this 'segment' **will** be given here to show the **relevance** for the development of appropriate **policies**.

The informal sector may be seen as an important segment, since - first of **all** - new immigrants are **often** employed in this sector. The informal sector **can** be described as the sector **where** enterprises and individuals **operate** largely

outside the official system of government benefits and regulation and have no **access** to formal institutions (ILO, 1972). A wide variety of **names** has been given to this sector, e.g., black, underground, **second** or hidden, depending on the different criteria used to describe the sector. These **names** do not suggest **any** economically **inefficient** activity. On the contrary, **evidence** suggests that the bulk of employment in the informal sector, far from being only marginally **productive**, is economically **efficient** and **profit-making** (ILO, 1972). Not **all** authors reached this conclusion, though Pahl (1987) found **evidence** from surveys in Europe and the United States that the unemployed in general are not likely to be involved in gaining **much** extra income from informal work. The position of unemployed on the labour market is **rather** weak in terms of earnings and labour conditions (Boer, 1990). Mingione (1985) constructed a 'spectrum of **human** activities contributing to reproduction' which is useful in locating and identifying the informal sector (see Figure A2). Mingione distinguished seven types of **human** (re)productive activities: formal, mixed formal/informal, pure informal, illegal activities, work not **exchanged** for income, extraordinary work for **self-consumption** and '**normal**' domestic work.

It is increasingly recognized that the **existence** of an informal sector in a modern industrial First World society **may** not be neglected. The development of various city-areas in the United States shows the increasing **importance** of the informal sector. The employment created in this sector is the disguised **unemployment** of a modern society and for a large part the answer of immigrants willing to accept work, even outside the official employment **channels**, in the host country.

6. Policy Implications

The future developments described above **call** for a profound analysis of policy initiatives and strategies for the absorption of immigrants on the labour market suggested in the literature. The change in migration developments and the alarming unemployment figures lead internationally to various different policy responses and approaches regarding the absorption of new immigrants on the urban labour **market**³. The **success rate** of these **policies** differs among different countries. There is some **evidence** that the **effects** of immigration on the labour market in some countries (e.g., the United States) a country's **economy** is on a structural basis **often** positive (see for **instance** Borjas 1986; Chiswick 1986; Wright and Maxim 1993; Poot 1986; Greenwood, 1986; Simon 1994). For a part this **may** be explained by **policies** oriented towards the absorption of immigrants in the region of destination. The policy approach in the USA and in other experienced immigration countries like Canada and Australia, is based on permanent settlement from the beginning. Therefore, at the moment of entry, a

³ For a overview of European country policy responses, see Cross (1989) and Schierup (1989)

whole range of **co-ordinated** services is available to increase the integration in the host country. Furthermore, these countries make a **clear** distinction between family, refugee and independent **categories**. The **difference** between the **latter** countries and European OECD countries is that European OECD countries have only a small part of labour market initiatives that are exclusively targeted on new immigrants. The developed training programmes and **policies** were mostly for target problem groups in general and not exclusively aimed at new immigrants. In this respect it is important to select the training programmes developed for the social and **economic** integration of immigrants developed at a city-level, because immigrant absorption is a problem which mainly concerns **city-areas** (see figure A1). The developed programmes give an overview of the extent to which and the way in which cities respond to the social and **economic** integration of new immigrants in their area. In **general**, the policy responses towards the absorption of new immigrants in European countries show some similarity. The developed **policies** range from language training programmes to programmes aimed at the assimilation of immigrants on the labour market. The **objectives** of the **policies** are to **accelerate** the **economic** integration of **immigrants**. At an urban level, a series of **projects** is developed to meet this **objective**. They focus on the supply **side**, through the development of skills of immigrants and on the **demand side** by stimulating **companies** to employ new immigrants. These **projects** are diverse in **nature** and **can** be **clustered** in the following way:

1. **Projects aimed at training of basic skills.**
These **projects** help the new immigrants in the first period **after** arrival in the host country. Examples of immigrant integration programmes are: language training programmes, cultural adaption programmes.
11. **Vocational training programmes.**
These programmes are developed to improve the educational level and the professional skills of immigrants in order to improve the connection with labour market demands. Examples of these programmes are: vocational guidance, self-employment programmes, etc.
111. **Labour market absorption programmes.**
These programmes are developed to improve the chances of immigrants on the labour market. Examples of these programmes are: application training, labour market intermediaries, temporary in-company training programmes, etc.

An example in the Netherlands is the Project Integration New immigrants (PIN), which was developed to **teach** new immigrants the **basic** skills for the Dutch society. Similar **projects** **can** be found in Germany to integrate "Aussiedler" from central and eastern Europe. Information and **systematic** evaluation of **such projects** at a European level is unfortunately missing. **Therefore**, the development of a model for the **systematic** evaluation of **projects** and programmes developed for immigrants **can contribute** to a better understanding

of programmes their effectiveness and their critical **success factors**.

7. Programme Evaluation Approaches

Before developing a **systematic** framework for the evaluation of **projects** and programmes, first a selection of some attempts to measure the effectiveness will be offered.

Case 1. US experiences

VU (1994) evaluated the effectiveness of transitional support services for Southeast Asian refugees in Washington **state**, USA. The **State** of Washington is the home for 60,000 refugees, most of them Southeast Asians. A survey of Southeast Asian refugees conducted by the US Office of Refugee Resettlement in 1992 indicated that only 37% of those aged 16 years and over participated in the labour force, as compared with 66% for the United States population as a **whole**. **Many** efforts have been initiated at the **State** and federal levels to help refugees speed up their **process** of attaining **economic self-sufficiency**. The Refugee Self-sufficiency Programme is one of these programmes. Its primary goal is to **reduce** the welfare reliance of refugees through the establishment of a client's self-directing program. Refugees are expected to **participate** in one of two plans, called Track 1 and Track 11.

Track 1

These **participants receive self-sufficiency** services, which focus on barrier-removal activities **such** as language training and job and **career** preparation. Services start with a comprehensive assessment of the individual's skills and employment barriers. The managers of the programme are responsible for developing job leads and offer them to the refugees they **assist**. The desired outcome of Track 1 is the **successful** placement of the **client** in unsubsidized employment.

Track 11

This is developed for refugees **who desire** to move out of public **assistance** but are unable to do so because of fear of losing benefits and/or not being able to hold on to a job. This program is intended to bridge the financial gap between welfare and entry level employment. The program **provides** support to newly employed refugees through **reimbursement** of the following **out-of-pocket** expenses: transportation, tools, **tuition**, training supplies, etc.

The impact of this programme was evaluated by Deloitte & Touche (1994). To evaluate the impact of the program, they undertook the following activities:

- A.) Researched and analyzed the increases in self-sufficiency and decreases in welfare utilization by **participants** due to employment;
- B.) Identified the characteristics of refugees **who** became employed and were

able to move off welfare or **reduce** their reliance on welfare;

C.) Assessed the cost-benefits of the initiative by comparing grant reductions and termination due to employment with programmatic and administrative **costs**, including reimbursements to participants.

To estimate the possible gains from the programmes the evaluators compared the results of the participants with refugees **who** had welfare and earnings during the same period. Instead of relying on employment **rates** alone, the evaluators examined relative earnings levels, earnings growth over **time** and sustained employment. Employment **rates** alone are a limited measure for **self-sufficiency** because **self-sufficiency** due to employment is a **consequence** of **higher** wages, **longer** job duration and full employment (Deloitte & Touche 1992; State of Washington, 1990). Some Results appeared to be:

- The **average** wage of participants was at least 50% **higher** than the minimum wage.
- 80% of the participants entered fulltime employment.
- The **average** family **income** of Track **II** participants was approximately 23% **higher** than non-Track **I** participants.
- For **every** dollar spent, the program resulted in a return of the original **expenditure** plus an additional USD 3.92..

Case 11. Dutch experiences

The Dutch policy regarding the absorption of immigrants on the labour market is for a large part aimed at the development of skills of immigrants through language training **projects** and professional job training. This is **often combined** with temporary work experience **projects** in order to acquire the experience and to enlarge the chances on the labour market. A wide range of **projects** • to a large extent initiated by labour exchange **offices**, regional **authorities** and immigrant organisations • is started in several sectors of the **economy**. The **effects** of the policy have been investigated by the Social Cultural Planning Bureau; it was found that only 30 to 40 percent found a job **after** finishing a job training programme (SCP 1992).

The **LEC**⁴ (1993) evaluated 300 of the 500 **projects** known in the Netherlands at the moment. Although not **all** these **projects** are exclusively developed for immigrants, **almost** 70 per cent of the **projects** is specifically developed for immigrants with little or no education. The emphasis of these **projects** is on **schooling** and education. The **projects** are developed for several sectors of the **economy**, as **can** be seen from Table 1.

Table 1 shows that one third of the **projects** is not developed for a **specific** sector. The training programs in these sectors aim for a large part at the development of general skills and not at a **specific** function or profession. **Almost**

⁴ The LEC (Landelijk Expertise Centrum) is a foundation whose primary goal is to **gather** and analyse projects developed for immigrants in the Netherlands.

50 percent of the projects aims at the development of skills for a certain profession, e.g. ticket-controller for public rail, nurses for public health **care** functions or **welder** in the **metal** industry. More than 70 percent of the projects aims at functions in the lower segments of the labour force, **where** little or no skills are required. Only 2 percent of the projects aims at supporting starting entrepreneurs while the primary goal of over 90 percent of the projects was supporting immigrants in **finding** a job.

Table 1. **Sectoral labour market absorption projects developed for immigrant groups in the Netherlands**

Sector	number	%
No specific sector	100	33.33
Agriculture	2	0.67
Professional services	56	18.67
Trade	29	9.67
Government	13	4.33
Industry (in general)	25	8.33
Construction	7	2.33
Metal industrv	11	3.67
Confection	4	1.33
Education	7	2.33
Public health care	95	31.67
Other	6	2.0
Total	300	

Source: LEC (1993)

For policy-makers, financiers and initiators of the projects some quantitative achievement indicators are needed in order to **decide** on whether a project has to be **continued**. Therefore, it is surprising to find that for 50 per cent of the projects the **final** results are not measurable. For the remaining 50 percent an analysis of the results shows **much** variation based on estimates or exact numbers. 3300 **persons** found a permanent or temporary job via 95 projects, while more than 2000 **persons completed** successfully via 82 projects a language or other education. It has to be taken into account that 200 of the 300 projects started in the past three years, so that results **may** improve **when** project

leaders become more experienced. A **cause** of concern is that for more than 50 per cent of the projects no quantitative or qualitative analysis of **demand** and supply factors of the regional labour market was made and that for the projects **where** the labour market was analyzed, these analyses **where** not **very** good (see LEC 1993).

Case 111 Dutch experiences

A noteworthy study was undertaken by Tonkens (1994) **who** investigated the success factors of labour market projects' with an **average** success percentage of 78. He selected 14 projects to evaluate the factors that explain the success of these projects and the extent to which these factors **can** be adopted in other projects. Tonkens recommended to stimulate projects which combine the following factors:

1. Projects in which firms actively **participate** from the beginning and **also** make some financial contributions.
2. Projects with a group-oriented approach via education and work **expe-**
rience projects with individual support.
3. Projects with a continuing support up to **six** months **after** the start in a job; in the beginning intensive, later on less intensive.
4. Projects with jobs guaranteed by the company **when** the work experience project proved to be successful.
5. Projects in which several chances to fail are included, so that more work experience projects are possible.
6. Projects in which the responsibility of the project is delegated to one **person**.
7. Small **scale** projects or projects subdivided into small units.

Projects that combine these factors have a better **chance** to be successful. His findings are underlined by experiences in the United **Kingdom** (see Foley and Hutchinson, 1993).

8. An Evaluation Framework for Urban Immigrant Labour Market Policies

Evaluation studies are in general conducted to assess the **effects** of existing, ongoing public programmes **once** they have been adopted. The three labour market policy cases described above show a variety of approaches adopted, some of them measure quantitative results, others investigated the qualitative factors. In this **section** a framework **will** be presented for the **system-atic** evaluation of labour market absorption programmes for new immigrant

⁵ The selected projects did not only concern immigrant projects, but **also** other categories of unemployed workers **who** have **difficulties** in **finding** a job.

groups in host countries. Before describing methodological issues regarding the measurement of programme performance, first some general elements **pertain**ing to the coverage of impact studies need to be addressed. Hassan (1991) described the following issues.

First, it is important to determine the objectives of the programmes. Most programmes have more than one objective and there **may** be trade-offs between these objectives. Measuring the impact of the programme requires taking into account the various objectives and the weights assigned to these objectives.

Secondly, the developed programmes have a variety of social and **economic** effects which **can** be studied at a **micro** or macro level. Furthermore, some effects **may** only be achieved in the long run, e.g. improving the educational level of immigrant groups or improving the quality of the labour force by vocational training programmes. Evaluation studies should therefore consider the long run effects of these programmes and not use narrow technical evaluations that consider only one effect.

Thirdly, an important distinction **needs** to be drawn between net and gross effects. Assessment of a programme's gross effects involves counting the number of employees **placed** by employers. To arrive at net figures, several elements need to be deducted. For the transition from the gross to the net effects quantitative estimates - if possible - are needed for three phenomena (Schellhaass 1991):

- (1) **The deadweight effect.** It reflects the **fact** that some **participants** in a programme would have behaved in exactly the same way if that **programme** had not existed. Clearly, these **participants** cannot be **counted** as a **success** of the programme.
- (2) **The displacement effect.** Most labour market programmes grant subsidies which are more generous than necessary to **induce** the hiring of some sub-groups, for instance, new immigrants. The participating firms **can** use the subsidy surplus to **reduce** their output **prices** resulting in output losses of unsubsidized competitors. If they are **forced** to **reduce** their workforce, this has to be reflected in the net employment effects.
- (3) **The substitution effect.** If **participants** in a training programme enhance their productivity, they **reduce** the employment chances of **non-participants** competing for the same jobs. The **relevance** of this effects for an evaluation depends on the objective of the programme.

The **size** of the effects is **often** difficult to measure. Therefore, **evaluations** do not always estimate the influence of the three effects in a satisfactory manner. **However**, these estimates **can indicate** whether a programme actually made a **difference**. The **relevance** of net effects diminishes somewhat **when** a broader social welfare criterion is adopted. For instance, if the interest is in redistributing employment opportunities to target groups, e.g. new immigrants, then the employment performance of non-target groups **may** perhaps not matter (Schellhaass 1991).

In **our** approach a two step evaluation strategy is suggested. The **first step** is the quantitative ex post evaluation of the programmes. The ex ante set objectives (in terms of numbers completing a language programme, completing a vocational training or **finding** a job or receiving **higher** earnings or a **higher rate** of earnings growth) are compared with the ex post achieved results. In the **second step** the successful programmes **•** in quantitative terms **•** are **selected**. A qualitative analysis of these programmes **will** then be executed to find **out** what **makes** these programmes successful.

For the quantitative evaluation of on-going programmes a **systematic ex-post** evaluation is **used**⁶. This type of research aims at evaluating the impact of on-going programmes. The **main** question of **any** ex post evaluation is: What are the effects of the developed programmes? This question concerns several **aspects** which are described in Figure 4. This model **can** help in reducing the complex problem of the socio-economie integration of new immigrants into **clear** research questions. In our case the ‘society problem’ (the poor absorption of new **immi-**grants on the labour market) **can** be reduced to the policy problem (what are the effects of the migrant absorption programmes) which **can** be translated into a research problem (**how many** new migrants learn the language, complete the vocational training, find a job or gain **higher** earnings because of the **pro-**grammes offered).

Figure 4 Ex-post evaluation framework

Problem analysis -Society problem -Policy problem -Research problem
Assessment of the effects -Data collection -Data analvsis
Measurement of effects of on-going programmes

Source: Vos and Jansen-Schoonhoven (1992)

The ex ante formulated objectives of the programme are an important starting point in an ex post evaluation. The objectives following from ex ante problem analysis **can** possibly be quantified which helps in the ex post evaluation **process**.

In the ex post effect measurement an evaluation is undertaken in order to investigate whether the intended effect is **caused** by the programme. Several

6 The framework **advocated** in this paper is based Vos and Jansen-Schoonhoven (1992)

approaches are available to measure the effects'. In this paper two approaches **will** concisely be described. A distinction **will** be made between a **with/without** approach and a before/after approach.

In the **with/without** approach two comparable contrast groups are constructed, an experimental and a non experimental group. The experimental group is included in the programme, while the non-experimental is not. In this approach the autonomous states quo development is taken into account. **Therefore**, the quantitative estimates of the effects of the programme are more accurate than without a **control** group. In **practice** it is **often** difficult to construct two comparable groups.

In the before/after approach an estimation is made of the gross effects of the programmes **after** its implementation. Because there is no **control** group, only an estimate **can** be made of the autonomous states quo development. Therefore, one **can** only estimate whether the effects are **caused** by the **programme** and what the **size** is of these effects.

Clearly, none of the two above mentioned approaches does explicitly consider the deadweight effect, the displacement effect and the substitution effect. Therefore, these approaches are not **very** suitable to give net programme effects.

In order to measure the effectiveness of several programmes, answers must be given to the following questions (The Employment Department, UK 1991):

1. Have the **objectives** been achieved in terms of quality, quantity, **time**?
2. To what extent was the achievement the effect of the programme?
3. Is the achievement measured against a valid **baseline** of the position at the start of the programme?
4. To what extent was the achievement the effect of **external factors**?
5. Did a change in the (political/economic) environment affect the **achievement** of the **objective**?
6. If the **objectives** have been overachieved, is this a good thing, or a waste of resource?
7. If achievement is difficult to measure directly, are there suitable **surrogate** measures?

The answers to these questions **provide** a **clear** insight into the gross **quantitative effects** of the different programmes under consideration. This is the first step in the analysis. The **second** step is a **qualitative analysis** of the **successful** programmes. This **can** be undertaken by the **asses-**

⁷ See, for an overview of approaches of ex post effect measurement, Hasan (1991); Schellhaass (1991).

sment of Critical Success Factors of these programmes. Then it is important to identify the conditions which make a programme successful. The following analysis framework **can** be used for the measurement of these Critical Success Factors (see Table 2).

Table 2. A subdivision of Critical Success Factors into absolute and desirable conditions

		I	II	III
ABSOLUTE CONDITIONS	A			
	B			
	C			
DESIRABLE CONDITIONS	D			
	E			
	F			

The absolute conditions are crucial for **any** programme to be successful (i.e., necessary conditions). The desirable conditions are not crucial for the successfulness of a project but improve the **success rate** of **projects**. The outcome of this qualitative analysis **may** help other programmes to improve their performance. Therefore, the following questions are relevant and need to be addressed (The Employment Department, UK 1991):

1. Are the objectives of the programme still relevant? Are they still of the same priority?
2. Is the existing programme **well** suited to meeting those objectives?
3. What steps should be taken to improve or **alter** the programme?
4. What **can** be learned from other programmes?
5. Are there lessons for the management of the programme?

The evaluation methodology presented above **incorporates** quantitative and qualitative evaluation approaches. The implementation possibility of the methodology depends on the availability of data. For example, in Case 1 described above, **very** detailed information was available, so that a **very** detailed evaluation could be executed, while in Case 11 only a few gross programme **effects** could be assessed. The starting point of an ex post evaluation is normally formed by the ex ante described problems and policy. Quantitatively formulated goals offer a better opportunity for evaluating the policy adopted and for measuring the results. Unfortunately, it is common **practice** that policy-makers **often** describe their objectives vaguely (Herweijer 1985; Schellhaass 1991). This might be the reason for the somewhat disappointing results of some of the programme evaluation.

In **any** case, in many countries and cities, several **policies** have been developed to **improve** the effectiveness of programmes. An **effective** strategy to be considered is to offer tangible incentives. Rewarding training institutions for their effectiveness, as measured by the number of immigrants **placed** in (stable) jobs, is considered to be a key reason for success in **many** countries (Castro and Cabral De Andrade 1990). **When** trainers are evaluated and receive financial rewards on the basis of the proportion of trainees **who** find the right job, they no **longer** have **any** reason to take the easy option of repeating the same training courses even if they appear to be not successful (Kanawaty and Castro 1990). For example, in California, if a trainee gets a job and keeps it for at least 90 days, the training institution is reimbursed for the **cost** incurred (Duscha, 1990). Another example concerns Sweden, **where all** Labour Ministry funds used for training were given to public institutions. This virtual monopoly is partly removed now, because an increasing share of these funds **will** be given to the bidder offering the best service. This **will** force public institutions to increase their performance in order to receive financial resources which in the past used to accrue automatically to them (Castro and Cabral De Andrade 1990).

It is important to take these experiences into account **when** labour market absorption **projects** are evaluated. Less successful **projects** should be adjusted - whenever possible - by incorporating the learning points mentioned above into the **projects**. Furthermore, some other critical success **factors may** be mentioned. First, the possibility to 'grow into another-segment'. Jobs created in the lower-skilled segment of the work force are always under pressure in periods of **economic** recession, while due to the decreasing employment in these parts of the labour market, the future job possibilities **will** be small. Secondly, jobs created in government institutions only **cause** a shift in expenditures and **will** still put a pressure on government expenditures. Third, before developing a project first an analysis of the supply and **demand factors** of the regional labour market should be made, so that a developed project **can** be targeted at a **specific** dedicated. Fourth, goal setting helps to evaluate the **projects** ex post and stimulates policy-makers to investigate the market before developing a project.

9. Evaluation and Conclusion

The largely positive assimilation of immigrants in the US **economy** does not completely hold for Europe at this moment. In Europe, several **socio-economic** differences compared to the US explain the poor assimilation of immigrants. Zimmerman (1994) found the following problem issues especially related to the European migration problem:

- (i) **Labour market flexibility:** in Europe labour market flexibility is hindered by the **importance** of formal education degrees for employment and the **existence** of segmented **markets** and **many** labour market regulations.
- (ii) **Persistence of unemployment and labour market imperfections:** the central role of trade **unions** and the **persistence** of unemployment in Europe calls for another model than the equilibrium labour market model under perfect **competi-**

tion that is common in the literature.

(iii) **Cultural variety and social networks:** the assimilation pressure in Europe is **much higher** than in the US **where many** ethnic networks are at work. Within **such** a network it is easier to assimilate.

(iv) **Policy decisions:** EC countries **often** focus on short term problems, like local housing **markets**, the provision of public goods, etc, whereas the important issue is the extent to which foreigners should **receive** the chance to change their status as a guest and become a permanent resident with **legal** rights.

The case study for the Netherlands described in this **section** showed that the absorption of immigrants is in general not **very** successful. The **unemployment** figures and the educational level of the immigrant population have become **very** unfavourable in the last decade. The absorption of immigrants appears to be different from the USA. In the USA, initially immigrants appear to earn lower wages than the natives but through training, education and experience and the **fact** that they are more ambitious and motivated they acquire **higher** wages **after** some **time**. Until now no **evidence** of this situation was found in the Netherlands and in other European countries. The overall **effects** may be **positive**, but it is **often** found that immigrants are regionally **concentrated** in a few (city) **areas** and a few labour **markets**, **where** they **compete** between natives, immigrants and new immigrants **who** arrive in the region concerned. The findings from the USA hold in Europe mainly for the informal sector **where many** illegal aliens are employed. The proposition that immigrant concentration **can** lead to flourishing industries due to the presence of an abundant supply of low-wage unskilled labour (Greenwood, 1986), **may** explain flourishing illegal sector activities in Dutch city-areas.

In order to improve the absorption of new immigrant groups entering member-states of the European community, a number of policy measures have to be taken. First, new immigrants have to be treated as permanent settlers; until now, new immigrants are treated as temporary settlers. The absorption in the host country **can** be improved, if from the moment of arrival of the immigrant an absorption policy is developed to improve the assimilation in the new country. Services should be made available ranging from language programmes and cultural adaptation programmes to vocational training and on-the-job-training programmes. If these services are not available on arrival of the immigrant, the chance exists that he **will** find his way in informal sector activities. Furthermore, receiving countries should treat new immigrant groups differently from other problem groups (e.g., juveniles, **women**, etc.) willing to enter the labour market. The characteristics of new immigrants differ strongly from those groups, so that a separate policy for these groups is necessary.

Furthermore, the fragmented urban policy programmes serving to improve the labour market situation of immigrant groups developed at present turn **out** to have somewhat disappointing **success rates**. Therefore, there is a need to develop a **structured** approach and a more appropriate framework to evaluate these programmes. An evaluation must be seen as the start of a

renewal, updating, change or continuation of the policy towards a project and is essential in increasing the **success rate** of a project. Several approaches **may** be envisaged to evaluate urban labour market absorption programmes. In this paper a framework is presented which **incorporates** quantitative and qualitative approaches. Clearly, the ability to use this framework and the outcome of a policy evaluation **depend** on the quality of the data available for programme assessment, but certain caveats **can** at least be identified, as shown in this paper.

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Table A1 Registered unemployment according to sex, in absolute numbers and in percentages of the working population by ethnic group 1987-1988

	Absolute figures (x1000)			Aspercentageofthe working population per group		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Native Dutch ^b	375.5	219.4	594.8	12	16	13
Surinamese ^c 1 3 . 0	6.7	19.7	27	25		27
Antilleans ^c	3.2	1.9	5.1	21	27	23
Turks ^b	18.6	7.6	26.2	40	58	44
Moroccans ^b 1 3 . 5	3.3	16.8	41	49		42
North						
Mediterraneans ^{bd} 3 . 6	1.2	4.8	18	21		18
Other non-EC						
aliens ^b						
(i.a. refugees) 1 4 . 0	4.2	18.2	35	38		36

^a Unemployment figures from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment; working population from Central Bureau of Statistics.

^b Unemployment as of mid-1987 related to data on the working population as of March 31, 1987.

^c As of January 1, 1988. For Surinamese and Antilleans it is assumed that participation in the labour market according to sex and age does not differ from that of the total population of the Netherlands.

^d Italians, Greeks, Portuguese, and Spaniards.

Source: Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (taken from the report of the Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1989: 105).

Table A2

Registered unemployment in the Netherlands by nationality:
June 1980 - June 1989

Migrant Absorption 28

Date: end of . . .		Total (Dutch and alien)	Dutch of Surinamese origin	Dutch of Antillean origin	Aliens	Aliens from Mediterranean countries ^b	Turks	Moroccana	Other nationalities	Column 4 as % of total employment ⁹
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
June	1980	221,758	6,893	1,863	17,574	11,135	5,545	3,074	6,439	7.9
Dec.	1980	322,353	8,418	2,483	26,243	16,700	8,913	4,675	9,543	8.1
June	1981	360,068	8,962	2,521	31,433	20,230	10,631	6,141	11,203	8.7
Dec.	1981	473,620	10,059	2,833	37,584	24,307	12,572	7,576	13,277	7.9
June	1982	521,592	10,748	2,844	41,649	27,574	14,325	8,501	14,074	8.0
Dec.	1982	644,191	11,295	2,777	47,093	31,721	16,648	9,492	15,372	7.3
June	1983^c	792,733	13,737	3,158	59,167	40,737	21,156	12,257	18,430	7.5
Dec.	1983	855,601	13,964	3,129	64,149	43,632	22,333	13,418	20,517	7.5
June	1984	815,910	14,746	3,202	64,716	44,564	22,792	13,942	20,152	7.9
Dec.	1984	796,475	14,817	3,147	64,096	44,188	22,526	14,122	19,908	8.1
June	1985	737,938	15,655	3,360	66,966	45,096	23,141	14,606	21,870	9.1
Dec.	1985	749,519	16,717	3,849	68,918	47,071	24,393	15,492	21,847	9.2
June	1986	687,200	16,752	4,052	68,087	46,771	24,352	15,607	21,316	9.9
Dec.	1986	705,380	17,237	4,460	71,242	48,593	25,511	16,253	22,649	10.1
June	1987	657,911	17,516	4,609	72,540	49,150	25,948	16,617	23,390	11.0
Dec.	1987	696,980	17,805	5,051	75,571	51,830	27,094	17,764	23,741	10.8
June	1988	673,910	18,581	5,575	77,425	53,509	27,965	18,674	23,916	11.5
Dec.	1988	689,906	18,545	6,017	77,421	55,517	28,885	19,303	21,904	11.2
June	1989	651,095	18,701	6,346	77,316	54,921	28,774	19,713	22,395	11.9

^a After January 1, 1989 these figures no longer represent the official number of unemployed; from that date the data source has been called 'Bemiddelingsbestand Zonder Baan' (BZB) ('Mediation File of Unemployed').

^b Greece, Yugoslavia, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey, and Italy.

^c June 1983: a new series started as of January 1, 1983; new definitions were used.

Source: Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics, ● and Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment.

Table A3 Estimates of foreign workers in the Netherlands in **March**, 1983, 1985 and 1987 according to profession and **selected** (groups of) nationalities (in thousands)

Professioo (category)	Year	Total	EC	Mediterranean countries		
				Total	Turkey	Morocco
0-1. Scientific, Specialists, Artists etc.	1983	23,1	16,6	2,6	0,7	0,7
	1985	25,3	17,9	3,6	1,1	1,0
	1987	32,3	21,5	3,3	2,0	0,4
2. Managerial and higher executive	1983	3,6	2,5	0,2	0,0	0,0
	1985	4,3	3,0	0,5	0,1	0,0
	1987	7,7	6,1	0,8	0,0	0,0
3. Administra- tive	1983	16,2	11,5	3,2	0,7	0,7
	1985	14,4	10,1	3,0	0,6	0,5
	1987	19,7	15,3	5,5	0,2	0,4
4. Commer- cial	1983	5,7	4,5	1,3	0,1	0,2
	1985	4,4	2,9	0,9	0,2	0,2
	1987	7,5	4,5	1,5	0,8	0,1
5. Service	1983	28,3	7,7	15,4	4,6	4,6
	1985	27,5	7,4	15,9	5,8	4,1
	1987	27,3	8,0	17,3	5,9	7,6
6. Agricul- tural, Fishing	1983	2,6	0,3	1,9	0,9	0,9
	1985	2,5	0,4	1,8	0,6	1,3
	1987	2,5	0,5	2,3	0,7	1,4
7-9. Production and related	1983	94,1	22,7	66,0	29,6	18,6
	1985	87,4	23,5	60,2	26,9	17,9
	1987	78,5	30,1	53,4	24,0	13,2
Total	1983	173,7	65,7	90,5	36,4	25,8
	1985	165,8	65,2	85,9	35,3	25,0
	1987	175,7	86,1	83,7	33,6	23,2

^a For definition see Table 5.9.
Source: CBS, Buitenlandse Werknemers in Nederland 1979-1987

Table A4 Participation in education according to ethnic group, age, sex, and level of education (percentages)

	Males			Females		
	Level			Level		
	I	II-1	II-2	I	II-1	II-2
12-14 years of age						
Turks	34	66	1	40	59	1
Moroccans	55	45	0	54	46	0
Surinamese	41	52	7 ^c	29	59	12 ^c
Native Dutch	20	80	0	12	87	1
Native Dutch from families with low levels of education ^b	21	78	0	13	86	1
15-17 years of age						
Turks	1	93	7	5	90	15
Moroccans	8	87	5	5	90	5
Surinamese	1	79	20	0	70	30
Native Dutch	2	63	35	1	53	47
Native Dutch from families with low levels of education ^b	3	70	26	1	60	38

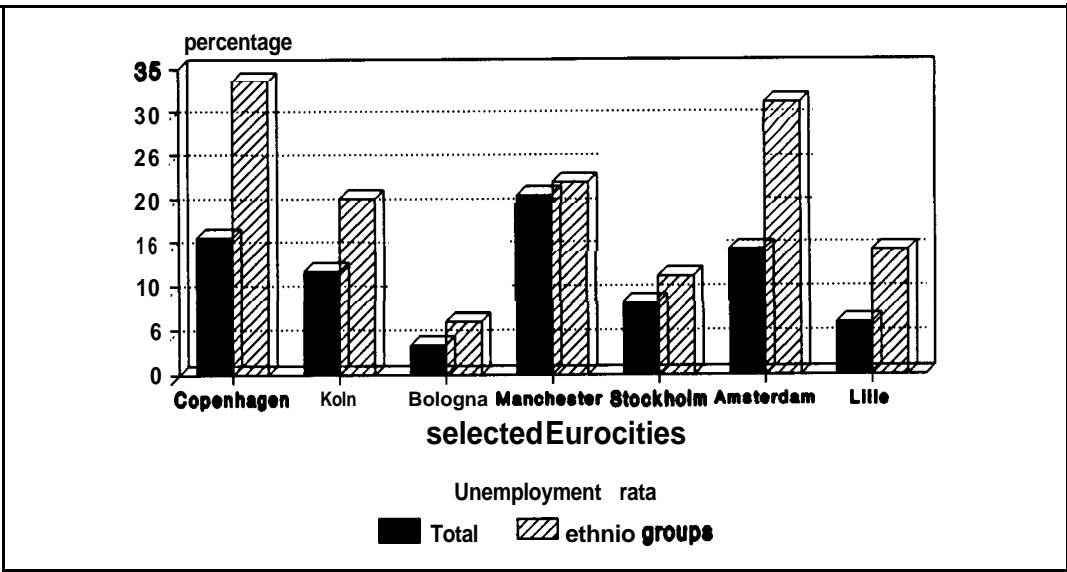
^a Level I: Normal and special primary education;
Level II, sub-level 1: Lower vocational education and general secondary education of middle level, first three grades of general secondary education of higher level and preparatory scientific education;
Level II, sub-level 2: Middle level of vocational education, general secondary education of higher level and preparatory scientific education from grade 4 onwards.

^b The educational level of the head of household is primary school, or lower vocational education.

^c According to the authors of this table these figures could be misleading as a consequence of "mistakes in the original material" (Van Praag and Muus, 1987: 18).

Sources: Quality of Life Survey among Turks and Moroccans 1984, among Surinamese 1985, General Facilities Survey among the total population 1983. Taken from van Praag and Muus, 1987: 19.

Figure A1. Total unemployment percentage compared to the unemployment percentage of ethnic minorities in some selected Eurocities



Source: Eurocities, City portraits (1993)

Figure A2 A spectrum of informal activities

Formal		Informal					
Legal		Illegal			Not provided for by law		
Monetary					Nonmonetary		
Public					Private		
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Pure formal activities	Mixed formal/informal activities	Activities that elude fiscal, social security or labour legislation	Criminal activities	Paid activities or transactions not provided for by law	Reciprocal or voluntary unpaid activities	Self-provision (within the household)	'Normal' domestic work
Examples							
Every productive activity that is wholly performed according to existing regulations	Formal activities that contain informal elements: e.g., partial 'black' payment	Second (black) jobs; employment without contract; informal self-employment	Theft; drug traffic; fraud	Barter; car washing by children	Reciprocal work; helping neighbours; various kinds of voluntary and social work	Vegetable gardens for self-consumption; do it yourself activities	Cleaning; child care; preparing meals

Source: L. Boer 1990), adapted from Mingione (1985)